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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON, D.C. 20535

May 26, 1967

BY LIAISON

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Honorable Richard Helms  
Director  
Central Intelligence Agency  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Helms:

I am enclosing a document entitled "Racial Violence Potential in the United States This Summer," which may be of interest to you.

All signs point toward recurrent racial strife throughout the Nation this summer. Most of the disorders of recent years have been spontaneous outbreaks of mob violence initiated by lawless and irresponsible elements, but incessant agitation and propaganda by communists and extremists have contributed toward Negro unrest. In particular, individuals like Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have fanned the flames of racial discord.

King has joined Carmichael and other extremists in the civil rights movement in embracing the communist tactic of linking the civil rights movement with the anti-Vietnam-war protest movement. The antiwar campaign endorsed by King helps to promote communist aims and programs in the United States and abroad.

A copy of this enclosure is being furnished to each of the following: Mrs. Mildred Stogall, at the White House; the Vice President; the Secretaries of State and Defense; and the Attorney General.

Upon removal of the classified material, this letter becomes unclassified.

Sincerely yours,

Enclosure

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION



**SUBJECT:** RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN  
THE UNITED STATES THIS SUMMER

**DATE:** May 23, 1967

REVIEWED BY FBI/JFK TASK FORCE

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PREFACE

This document is, in essence, an intelligence survey of this summer's racial violence potential in the United States. Its contents were derived from public sources, public officials, police officers, knowledgeable observers, and FBI sources. This document should not, however, be regarded as a report based upon the results of any specific investigation conducted by the FBI.

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## OVERVIEW

### Continuing Racial Tension

After three consecutive summers of racial turbulence in the United States, there were hopes that the social, economic, and political gains achieved by the Negro in recent years might be alleviating racial unrest and strife. Civil rights legislation, antipoverty programs, and better police-community relations have brought a measure of improvement in the status and treatment of Negroes, but discontent and frustration persist. Race relations have deteriorated in a number of cities throughout the country during the past year.

### Seasonal Phenomenon

We are now in the midst of an era of protracted racial conflict that has produced a crisis in law enforcement. Along with the annual seasonal rise in summertime crime, it is painfully evident that racial turmoil has similarly become a summer phenomenon. The racial violence potential is especially high in hot weather in the Nation's urban areas because large numbers of Negroes, living under crowded, depressed conditions in ghettos, take to the streets to escape the heat and seek relaxation and recreation. The situation is compounded by the restiveness and alienation of large numbers of idle junior and senior high school students and other Negro youths. Because of the combustible temper of the times, an inconsequential incident can ignite a riotous situation in any city or town in the country.

### Another Riotous Summer

The Spring of 1967 has already witnessed almost daily outbreaks of racial disorder somewhere in the country. All signs point toward recurrent racial convulsions throughout the country this summer--more than likely on an even wider scale than in previous years--marked by plundering, arson, destruction, and attacks on law enforcement officers. There is the added danger this year that the scenes of racial strife in large cities might spread from Negro



communities into white neighborhoods and that increased numbers of white people might resort to violence in an effort to counter Negro demonstrators or rioters. The threat of racial violence hangs heavy over every urban community in the land. In an atmosphere of ever-present tension, violence can strike anywhere at any time with all the unpredictability, rapidity, and destructiveness of a tornado.

### Civil Rights Linked with Vietnam

Most of the riots and disturbances of the past three years have been spontaneous eruptions of mob violence, triggered by some trivial incident and fueled by teen-age Negro youths and various lawless and irresponsible ghetto elements. But incessant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversives and extremists have definitely contributed to Negro unrest and fomented violence. In particular, demagogues like Martin Luther King, Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick, Cassius Clay, and Dick Gregory have fanned the fires of racial discord and animosity. King has now joined Carmichael, McKissick, and other civil rights extremists in embracing the communist tactic of linking the civil rights movement with the anti-Vietnam-war protest movement, claiming that United States involvement in Vietnam is diverting attention from civil rights. King's exhortation to boycott the draft and refuse to fight could lead eventually to dangerous displays of civil disobedience and near-seditious activities by Negroes and whites alike. Thus, the antiwar campaign endorsed by King helps to promote communist aims and programs in the United States and abroad.



## MORE RACIAL TROUBLE PREDICTED

### Ominous Warnings

Each spring of the past few years has evoked prognostications from Negro spokesmen and public officials in cities with substantial Negro populations to the effect that the ensuing summer months would see outbursts of racial violence. This spring the prophecies have been more numerous and more ominous than ever, particularly those voiced by Negro leaders.

"The war in Vietnam has strengthened the forces of bigotry and reaction," declared Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). "It has caused many young people to become disenchanted with our society. The failure to solve the problems of our cities will only exacerbate the situation, and give the extremists on both sides a much more receptive audience. Polarization of the race question in the United States won't merely mean outbreaks of violence. It will mean outright race wars in some of our cities."

At least ten cities across the country were described by King as "powder kegs" which could explode into racial violence this summer. Among those cities he listed were New York City, Newark, Washington, Cleveland, Chicago, Los Angeles, and the Bay area of California, including Oakland.

Sporadic youth-led riots throughout the country must be expected this summer and every summer for the next decade, Bruce Coles, Program Director for the Chicago Young Men's Christian Association, told the House Education Subcommittee. The continuing tumult, according to Coles, can be traced to a conflict between the promises of an affluent society and society's limited ability to spread that affluence around. Unable to get jobs and rise out of the slums, the youngsters--mostly teen-age Negro boys--simply "blame whitey and raise hell," he said.

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Alienation and tension in some Negro neighborhoods "are reaching catastrophic proportions which can lead to unprecedented explosions in 1967," warned Edward Rutledge and Jack E. Wood, Executive Director and Associate Executive Director of the National Committee Against Discrimination in Housing, in an annual report. Rutledge and Wood, who forecast racial disorders in 1965 and 1966, drew their conclusions from a study conducted in 41 cities and 25 states during 1966.

Rutledge and Wood claimed they found a conviction among Negro youth that progress in civil rights will be achieved through social turmoil, and they repeatedly heard such comments in ghettos as "We need two and a half more riots to get out of here."

"Hardly any community in this country can call itself immune from trouble this summer," declared Floyd McKissick, National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). McKissick placed Cleveland at the top of his list of trouble spots, along with most New Jersey cities. Other cities he enumerated were New York City; Washington; Detroit; Chicago; Gary, Indiana; St. Louis; East St. Louis, Illinois; Los Angeles; San Francisco; and Oakland.

A Negro sociologist at Howard University, Dr. Nathan Hare, sees a "very real" possibility of a civil war between whites and Negroes in the United States. "It's going to be quite a while off yet--though not so far off as to be outside of our life span," he said. Dr. Hare, who describes himself as a "theorist" in the "black power" movement, is actively spreading its philosophy to Negro colleges across the country.

"Violence is the only way left to the black man to achieve his manhood in America," Ernest Chambers, a leader of young militants in Omaha, told delegates to the National Conference on Community Values and Conflict in New York City. He said that "violence purges the soul of the black man and returns to him his self-respect." Chambers maintained that prevention of racial violence was up to the white people. They must realize, he said, that injustice is practiced daily against the Negro and that Negro youths will no longer put up with it.

The key to racial peace this summer, observed Roy Wilkins, Executive Director of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), is jobs for the thousands of young Negroes who will be turned loose from school "with muscles in their arms and mischief in their minds." With "one out of three Negro teen-agers wandering around," he said, "you are going to have trouble." Wilkins expressed the hope that there would be no riot in any city, and added: "But I can't say there won't because all the ingredients are there."

Public officials in a number of large cities have expressed considerable apprehension about the possibility of racial violence this year. Mayor John V. Lindsay, of New York City, asserted that "we have no way of knowing what this summer will bring but we do know that if violence breaks out, the young people of the ghettos will be in its vanguard." He has called upon the administration to restore cuts in antipoverty funds for summer youth activities, or face the threat of rioting in Negro ghettos this summer.

Disturbances are likely in the Nation's capital this summer, according to Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, unless funds for recreational programs for school children are approved. If youthful energy is not channeled constructively, he cautioned, "I am sure that increased vandalism, destruction, and other antisocial behavior would tend to result." He added: "Of course, we can never assume summer peace, since incidents fanning neighborhood reaction are neither foreseeable nor controllable. But we can, by providing these funds, make the occurrence of summer incidents less likely and their enlargement to other areas less apt to occur."

Mayor Ivan Allen, Jr., of Atlanta, observed that "in any big city with major slum problems, incidents amounting almost to riots can occur at any time during the hot summer months whenever there is provocative leadership that finds an incident that can be exploited. There is always some incident that provocative leaders can use if they want."

Familiar Pattern

The forebodings of recent years have been amply justified in view of the extensive riotous conditions that have developed in the United States during the past three summers. Events have unmistakably shown that any municipality in the country with a Negro population is susceptible to a racial outbreak. A partial listing of cities and towns where racial disorders have occurred since 1964 indicates that racial disorders can happen anywhere and everywhere at any time: New York City; Rochester, New York; Philadelphia; Jersey City; Cleveland; Dayton, Ohio; Lansing, Michigan; Chicago; Waukegan, Illinois; Omaha; San Francisco; Los Angeles; Atlanta; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; and Bogalusa, Louisiana. It is obviously impossible to pinpoint when and where racial violence will erupt.

But there is one aspect of racial violence that can be predicted with some precision: the pattern it will follow. In virtually every instance where major riots have broken out in Negro communities in recent years, the pattern and sequence of events have been identical: the escalation of an initial minor episode involving police action; a rapidly growing crowd and mounting excitement and hysteria fomented by troublemakers, extremists, and subversives; overt hostility toward the police, accompanied by wild charges of "police brutality"; the explosion of blind, irrational mob fury and action; street fighting between Negroes and police; hurling of rocks, bricks, bottles, fire bombs, and other objects; looting, vandalism, and arson; and, finally, summoning of police reserves and frequently the National Guard to restore law and order.

The survey on the following pages endeavors to highlight the violence potential which exists in the United States as the Summer of 1967 draws near.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE EASTBaltimore, Maryland

Population 917,000 (1966); 41 per cent Negro (1966).

At the present time, Baltimore police officials feel that there is less tension today than there has been for the past year and that there is no current situation that is likely to lead to riots or racial violence within the next six months. They believe that the Negro leadership, although at times radical, manages to control its followers and that the communication between the police and this leadership is good, largely due to the effectiveness of community relations councils set up by the Baltimore Police Department. In their assessment of the situation, they conclude that if violence does occur, it will arise either from police action in heavily populated Negro districts or from counterdemonstrators representing white-supremacist hate groups.

On two occasions within the past year, an individual representing the Fighting American Nationalists and one representing the Baltimore (White) Citizens Council counterdemonstrated civil rights demonstrations for integrated housing. The National States Rights Party, a white hate group, has been refused permission to hold rallies in the Baltimore area. A Klan group has recently distributed racist literature in a housing project in Baltimore.

The leading civil rights group on the Baltimore scene is CORE, which designated Baltimore its target city for 1966. Most civil rights groups active in Baltimore are national or local civil rights groups not dominated or influenced by subversive elements. Although the Civic Interest Group is a legitimate local group, two of its leaders have expressed a desire to organize a Baltimore chapter of Deacons for Defense and Justice, an all-Negro organization composed of armed members.

Boston, Massachusetts

Population 617,326 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

It is the unanimous opinion of community leaders that antagonism between the races is relatively nonexistent and that racial violence in the near future is improbable. They indicate that efforts to improve the Negroes' economic and social status have been largely successful; that progress has been made in school integration; and that communication between minority groups and the police is considered excellent.

Although no present issues appear to be of sufficient magnitude to evoke an extreme emotional response, informed sources indicate that the possibility of a spontaneous outburst of violence inflamed by a Stokely Carmichael can never be ruled out entirely. They admit that a certain amount of tension is being nurtured by restless teen-agers and by a few militant adult publicity seekers like Reverend Virgil A. Wood, Director of the Blue Hill Christian Center and Chairman of the New England Branch of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. Wood, lamenting the lack of a strong racial issue, is straining to find a rallying point for civil rights activities.

One issue that carries a potential for racial difficulties in Boston is the possible election as Mayor of Mrs. Louise Day Hicks, a school committee member, who has opposed the civil rights movement. When her candidacy for Mayor was announced, Martin Luther King remarked that "it would be very tragic for Boston if she were elected."

Buffalo, New York

Population 481,453 (1966); 17 per cent Negro (1966).

Officials of the Buffalo Police Department say there is no current issue affecting the Negro community in Buffalo leading them to believe that there will be any racial violence in that city during the coming months. Further, there is no notable hostility on the part of Negroes toward the Police Department.



An organization known as BUILD (Build, Unity, Independence, Liberty, and Dignity) was formed in January, 1967, under contract with the Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF), a community organizing agency with headquarters in Chicago. IAF, which is headed by Saul Alinsky as Executive Director, has been active organizing the poor--mostly Negroes--in Chicago, Buffalo, and Rochester, New York.

BUILD has publicly announced that it will organize the entire Negro community in Buffalo on a "grass roots" level for the purpose of building a coalition to apply pressure on the existing "white power structure" of the city. The major issue for organizing the community will be school integration.

City and Federal Government officials, as well as members of the Board of Education, feel there are no insurmountable problems facing Negroes in Buffalo in the form of jobs, housing, and education. Those who are able and willing to work are gainfully employed, most of them at existing union wages. Housing is not a major problem, and some Negroes are finding homes in suburban areas without any sharp conflict. The problem of integrated education is being met, and the Board of Education has replaced an anti-integration member with a member recommended by BUILD.

The Common Council of Buffalo has two Negroes on it, and the Fire Commissioner, who was appointed in 1966, is a Negro. Many Negroes have been given front office jobs in stores and public business places, and no animosity or friction has resulted therefrom.

If racial tensions increase this summer, it can well be because BUILD has heated up an issue--rightly or wrongly--in order to find a magnetic argument. BUILD's President, Reverend Frank Emmanuel, is regarded by responsible clergy and others as not only uninformed about the true conditions in Buffalo but also intellectually dishonest. It is the present intent of the responsible clergy to remain aloof from BUILD, to keep in touch with the Negro community, and to act as a counterbalance to BUILD.



Charleston, West Virginia

Population 104,976 (1966); 8 per cent Negro  
(1966).

Authorities are looking rather apprehensively toward the recurrence of two racial incidents of the past year. Both of these involved attempts by demonstrators to force admittance of Negroes to privately owned amusement areas; the Rock Lake Swimming Pool in South Charleston and the Skateland Skating Rink in Charleston. On both occasions, the demonstrators were refused entry. Negro demonstrators at the pool were few, and their attempts to gain admission did not result in violence. However, a second demonstration at the skating rink in January, 1967, involved 60 Negroes and whites from West Virginia State College and was led by a militant white student named William Weimer. The incident resulted in 34 arrests for trespassing and disorderly conduct. Weimer was charged with destruction of property and assaulting a police officer.

A Human Rights Law, passed by the West Virginia State Legislature early this year, has ordered the integration by July 1, 1967, of all facilities which are public or deal with the public. Because of this new law, white and Negro leaders consider that amusement areas, especially the pool and skating rink--the latter is scheduled to close in June, 1967--will become targets of demonstrators. Law enforcement officers are watching these areas closely and anticipate further demonstrations on the part of Weimer and other students at the college.

Even though area leaders, both Negro and white, are attempting to solve all racial difficulties in a peaceful manner, all concede that an outbreak of racial violence in the Charleston area is a possibility in the future.

Elizabeth, New Jersey

Population 110,000 (1966); 11 per cent Negro  
(1966).

According to city and police officials, racial conditions in Elizabeth are calm and there do not appear to be any groups or individuals in that city presenting a violence-potential problem. They feel that if trouble should arise this summer, it will be a spontaneous and unorganized action brought on by some unrelated incident.

Thomas Highsmith, Executive Director of Community Action for Economic Opportunity, states that the stability in Elizabeth is due to the concern and action of civic leaders in meeting the demands of Negroes in areas of better housing, better jobs, and better law enforcement.

#### Hartford, Connecticut

Population 168,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Benjamin Goldstein, Coordinator of Human Relations for the Hartford Police Department, feels that racial conditions are generally good, and he knows of no "seething problems" that might erupt this year in Hartford. He says the Negro leaders in Hartford are concerned about possible trouble in the North End of Hartford, where many Negroes and Puerto Ricans reside. Captain Goldstein states there is considerable crime in the area, such as murders, assaults, and thefts, which is committed mainly by organized groups who have no respect for authority. The members of these groups will undoubtedly cause trouble as lawbreakers, but they are not racial demonstrators. According to Captain Goldstein, Negro leaders are doing all they can to assist the Police Department in maintaining law and order.

#### Jersey City, New Jersey

Population 278,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Captain Raymond V. Blaszczak, of the Jersey City Police Department, says that racial conditions in Jersey City are generally good. He can foresee no real racial trouble during the coming summer. The demands of Negroes, he states, have largely been met.

Monsignor Eugene Reilly, pastor of Christ the King Roman Catholic Church, knows of no specific area of racial unrest in Jersey City. He points out, however, that there has been a rash of minor incidents lately, indicating a restless element among the teen-age Negroes.

Captain Blaszak and Monsignor Reilly both state that improved housing conditions, better schools, and more recreational facilities and job opportunities for Negroes are the main objectives of civil rights groups operating locally.

New York, New York

Population 7,993,000 (1967); 14 per cent Negro (1960).

Eighty per cent of the Negroes in New York City reside in four areas: the Harlem area of upper Manhattan, the Bedford-Stuyvesant section of Brooklyn, southeast Bronx, and south Jamaica in Queens County.

The racial situation in New York City for the immediate future does not unduly alarm city and police officials, Negro leaders, and others familiar with racial affairs in the largest city in the nation. Most of them do not believe that any serious violence will break out this summer.

Due in large measure to advance planning by the New York City Police Department, there were no major incidents of racial violence in the city during the Summer of 1966. This advance planning has enabled the Police Department to anticipate trouble and to take preventive steps before a flare-up occurs. The 1967 summer schedule of the Police Department calls for increased patrols at beaches, parks, and playgrounds; strategy meetings between police officials and community leaders; youth projects to keep restless and idle children and youths occupied; and security precautions in areas where the spark of racial unrest may be fanned by subversives and extremists.

A leading police official does not contemplate trouble or violence this summer beyond the normal increase in disorders caused by juveniles with time on their hands during the vacation period. His principal concern is the irresponsible and untrue statements made by too many so-called civil rights leaders, to the mass communications media, for, he claims, these statements tend to aggravate racial tension. By the same token, he maintains, if the news media continue to publicize the dire predictions of violence of well-known public figures, violence is very likely to follow.

A police official stationed in the heart of Harlem characterizes the racial situation there as good at the present time. There seems to be no unusual racial tension, according to this official, and contacts between the police and Harlem residents are normal. He concedes, however, that the end of the school term and the combination of idle youths and hot weather could alter the picture.

An officer of the NAACP says that it is impossible to forecast whether or not there will be violence this summer or where it will take place if there is. He notes that the situation has not really changed much since the Harlem riot of 1964, because the causes of discontent and unrest still persist--the substandard living conditions in Negro communities and the lack of equal opportunities for Negroes. Fortunately, he adds, most of the Negroes affected by these adverse conditions never resort to or engage in violence. Nevertheless, there are a goodly number who will respond violently to some incident, particularly one which involves so-called "police brutality."

Another NAACP leader does not foresee any trouble or violence during the coming months. This official emphasizes that it is time that all citizens, both Negro and white, come to the realization that there will be constant turmoil until the day the Negro is granted those rights and privileges that have been denied him for so many years.

According to one informed source, it is impossible to state definitely whether or not there will be racial violence in New York City, for no one knows exactly what the catalyst may be which would escalate any

given incident into violence. Numerous reasons have been given in the past to explain outbreaks of violence, this source points out, and the same reasons will be cited again when and if violence erupts.

This source states that if he were asked to pinpoint an area where violence might break out, he would designate the East New York section of Brooklyn, into which Negroes are moving from the Bedford-Stuyvesant section. These Negroes, he says, are encountering animosity from the longtime residents of East New York. Therefore, the seeds of trouble are being sown.

Another informed source feels that violence potential exists in Harlem and Bedford-Stuyvesant. Recent statements, this source says, made by Negro leaders such as Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have not had a calming effect on the Negro people. Rather, they have served to focus attention on the possibility that violence is inevitable. Furthermore, this source believes, the treatment accorded Adam Clayton Powell in Congress and Cassius Clay in his attempt to avoid the draft--regardless of whether or not they deserved it--has served to intensify Negro resentment and bitterness. All these factors contribute to racial tension, according to this source, and when the ingredients of hot weather, unemployment, and restless youths are added, there is definitely an increase in the possibility of racial violence this summer in New York City.

Much Negro resentment was engendered when the House of Representatives voted, early in March, 1967, to exclude Adam Clayton Powell from membership in Congress for misuse of funds and unbecoming conduct. Many Negroes in New York City and elsewhere in the country regard this punishment as unusually harsh and an expression of white racism. They charge that he was singled out for punishment because of his race, rather than because his behavior differed from that of other Congressmen. Moreover, in view of the softer punishment that Negroes believe will be meted out to Senator Dodd by his colleagues in the Senate, many Negroes are angered by what they feel is the application of a double standard of conduct by Congress to white and Negro members.

Negro subversives and extremists like Jesse Gray and Charles 37X Morris are dangerous because of the incendiary effect they have on some susceptible segments of the Negro population. Gray is Director of the Harlem Community Council on Housing and has been active on numerous occasions in the past in demonstrations, particularly against "police brutality" and "slumlord" exploitation of Negroes. Gray was organizer of the Harlem Region of the Communist Party in the late 1950's and, although no longer a Party member, he is still friendly with the Party.

Charles 37X Morris--also known as Charles Kenyatta--is the leader of a small group of Negroes called the Mau Mau, a black nationalist group. He conducts weekly street meetings outside the Hotel Theresa in Harlem in an effort to inflame Negroes to rise up against the white man. At a recent gathering of 75 people, he declared, "the hell with President Johnson," said he was in favor of "burning the city down," and predicted the summer would be "very hot."

To one observer of the racial scene, the racial picture in the United States becomes more confusing every day because the so-called civil rights leaders who receive most of the attention in the news media are applauded and readily accepted as leaders of the Negro people despite their obviously divergent philosophies. Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael are cited as classic examples: King continually reiterates his belief in integration and the use of nonviolence, whereas Carmichael exhorts the Negro people to resort to "black power," with its implied threat of violence and reverse racism.

Newark, New Jersey

Population 400,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Martin Luther King included Newark among the cities he described as "powder kegs," which "could burst into racial violence this summer." He thereby aroused the wrath of Newark Councilmen Calvin D. West and Irvine I. Turner, both Negroes, who stated that they respected King for his accomplishments, but added, "We do not need prophets of doom to incite racial unrest when



there is none. While we are not naive enough to believe that the Negro has reached his total goal of human understanding in our city, great strides have been made and greater ones are in the offing."

Newark police officials are of the opinion that racial conditions are good. They cannot foresee any problems at this time. While admitting that conditions in Newark are not perfect, they also assert that progress is steady and that the business community is especially helpful in hiring, training, and promoting Negroes. These officials' reason that many Negroes have a stake in the city government and the average income per head of household and per family is higher than in any other municipality on the eastern seaboard.

Paterson, New Jersey

Population 152,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1967).

The general racial condition in Paterson, according to Mayor Lawrence Kramer, is considered good. However, the absence of poverty funds from the Federal Government for recreation during the summer months might, he feels, result in trouble during this period.

Mrs. Susan Herzog, President of the Board of Directors of the Paterson Task Force, an antipoverty agency, states she does not believe racial tension exists to any great extent at the present time but that there is a potential within the Negro community that can burst into the open at any moment. As an example, she points out that any unnecessary force used by a policeman in making an arrest of a Negro can trigger racial violence. She also feels that it is a mistake on the part of the Federal Government not to supply funds for summer recreation and supervision of youth groups. Mrs. Herzog accuses the general news media and their handling of racial discussions by Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael of creating tension within the Negro community.

The Very Reverend Vincent E. Puma, pastor of Our Lady of Victories Roman Catholic Church, also feels that the Federal Government errs in holding back money for



summer recreation programs, because idle youth on street corners cause problems. Monsignor Puma advised that the churches and synagogues are attempting to relieve the situation during the summer months by organizing a recreational and teaching campaign which will be financed through donations.

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

Population 2,042,000 (1967); 31 per cent Negro (1967).

Municipal leaders and other knowledgeable observers generally agree that although there is less likelihood of racial violence this year than in recent years, the potential for violence is ever present. Philadelphia Police Lieutenant George Fencl, of the Civil Disobedience Unit, states that racial tensions are probably lower than at any time since the riot of August, 1964.

Phillip Savage, Tri-State Area Director of the NAACP, says he has no specific information concerning possible racial disturbances this summer. He believes substandard housing and unemployment of unskilled workers might lead to frustration and tension during the hot summer months and could trigger violence. He also feels that unnecessary force by police officers in making arrests could cause violent reactions. In support of this contention, it is stated in a recently published report by the Committee on Community Tensions of the Fellowship Commission that mistreatment of citizens by police is more likely to set off major disturbances than any other single factor.

This report named the following areas as tension points in Philadelphia with the greatest potential for racial outbreaks: (1) Kensington; (2) North Central Philadelphia, (3) Hawthorne Housing Project in South Philadelphia, (4) 36th and Filbert Streets in West Philadelphia, (5) 30th and Tasker Streets in South Philadelphia, (6) East Falls in Northwest Philadelphia, and (7) 19th and Green Streets in North Philadelphia.

Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania

Population 604,332 (1960); 17 per cent Negro (1960).

Police and city officials describe the general racial conditions in Pittsburgh as good and say that racial issues actually have not received much support from the Negro community. Pittsburgh is peculiar in that it has five widely separated Negro areas and a lack of concern by one Negro community as to what occurs in the others. When Stokely Carmichael spoke in Pittsburgh in March, 1967, he commented that there were no real racial issues in that city.

The consensus of city officials is that the potential for violence in Pittsburgh appears to be very small. However, there is always the possibility that an incident can develop into violence. They also point out that outside racial agitators are not known to be working in Pittsburgh and that the previously mentioned visit by Carmichael was an isolated affair.

Rochester, New York

Population 305,849 (1964); 11 per cent Negro (1964).

The prevalent feeling in Rochester is that there is a definite potential for racial violence. An informed source "can just sense something is wrong in the Negro community, however, it would be impossible to predict an exact date when a race riot might erupt."

A police official says that there is no indication that a racial disturbance is imminent. He feels, however, the potential is greater than it was last year. Laplois Ashford, Executive Director of the Rochester Urban League, is presently concerned about the tension and apprehension in the Negro and the white communities.

Another informed source has said that the potential for violence in Rochester is at an all-time high. He cites the principal causes to be substandard housing and the high cost of living.

One clergyman regards the racial situation in Rochester as tense. There are, he points out, several small groups of Negro young men who are militant and restless and who want FIGHT (Freedom, Integration, God, Honor -- Today), a local militant civil rights organization, to speak out and take more positive action in demanding an improvement in Negro conditions.

According to a city official, the general apprehension about the likelihood of racial violence is based on the following factors: (1) a prediction of a "long, hot summer" by the Director of FIGHT; (2) failure by local, state, and Federal agencies to improve housing, recreational facilities, and sanitation procedures in Negro areas; and (3) congregation of Negro youths on city streets.

FIGHT, which was formed in Rochester in 1965 under contract with Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation, is presently under the leadership of the Reverend Franklin Delano Roosevelt Florence, a Negro minister.

The purpose of FIGHT is to eradicate slum ghetto areas and school segregation and to provide jobs for unemployed Negroes. In September, 1966, FIGHT approached the largest employer in Rochester--the Eastman Kodak Company--and demanded that company to hire and train 600 hard-core unemployed Negroes. An Assistant Vice President designated to hold talks with FIGHT signed a document pertaining to these demands in December, 1966, but Kodak later repudiated the agreement as unauthorized. The company explained that it could not deal on an issue with one racial group to the exclusion of any other and it would not commit itself to a specific number of persons it would employ at any given time. The struggle between FIGHT and Kodak continues, with the issues still unresolved.

Saul Alinsky, Executive Director of IAF and the guiding force behind FIGHT, has been described by a former Vice-President of FIGHT as a master of the "game of confidence with a play on words, in that he will twist every racial situation to fit his own needs and to further his image."

FIGHT Director Florence has been characterized as "power hungry" and insincere. A tactic he employs frequently is to start a rumor of potential violence, which creates unrest among both Negroes and whites. Through unreasonable demands and threats, which are widely publicized in the news media, he has inflamed the poorly educated Negroes, and they are ready to react against any seemingly aggressive police action. Because of his insincerity and unorthodox tactics, Florence is considered a dangerous racial leader.

Florence and 600 demonstrators disrupted the annual stockholders' meeting of the Eastman Kodak Company, which was held in Flemington, New Jersey, late in April, 1967. In an effort to make Kodak accept FIGHT's demands, Florence shouted, "If Eastman Kodak wants war, it's war they'll have." He said he planned to meet with civil rights leaders, including Stokely Carmichael, to plan a demonstration in Rochester on July 24, the third anniversary of the city's huge riot.

Washington, D. C.

Population 802,000 (1965); 63 per cent Negro (1965).

The Nation's Capital has a higher percentage of Negroes than any other major city in the United States. Moreover, in 1965, Negroes in Washington public schools constituted 90 per cent of the total enrollment.

Opinions as to the potential for racial disturbances in Washington, D. C., during the Summer of 1967, are almost as numerous and varied as the number of persons interviewed. Most would agree, however, that an isolated incident could develop trouble. Because the city has a huge Negro population, many of whose opinions do not vary significantly from those of their kinsmen in other large cities, the following comments concerning the underlying causes of Negro discontent which leads to disturbances are enumerated:

1. Bitterness and resentment among Negroes come as a result of being the oppressed underdog for too long a period.

2. Negro youngsters must be given something to do to keep them out of trouble.

3. If young Negroes can obtain employment, they will be able to acquire dignity, buy clothing, have fun in their spare time, and forget about riots and violence.

4. There are not sufficient summertime jobs and not enough recreational facilities and programs to keep young Negroes occupied during summer vacation periods.

5. Housing is inadequate. During the summer months, Negro families cannot stay in one-room apartments where they have been confined all winter. The construction of high-rise, expensive apartments forces Negroes into an overcrowded environment. Landlords exploit Negroes through high rent and inadequate facilities.

6. Schools in Negro communities are overcrowded and inferior by comparison with those found in white neighborhoods.

7. Negroes feel that white police officers treat them as second-class citizens and make them the target of their racial prejudice. The use of "trigger" words, such as "boy" and "nigger," results in disrespect for and hostility toward the police. Some in the Negro ghettos look upon all policemen, white and Negro, as the enemy.

8. The shift made by Martin Luther King to wholehearted support for those protesting United States participation in the war in Vietnam and his exhortation to boycott the draft may have far-reaching effects, especially on those facing military service.

9. Adam Clayton Powell is still regarded as an idol and is the favorite of Negroes everywhere. Negroes believe that Powell's troubles with Congress stemmed from his Negro ancestry. Thus, he is supported regardless of his faults. If he is denied his seat in Congress, some form of trouble can be expected.

10. There is a strong undercurrent of anti-Semitism developing in the Negro community, because many merchants and landlords in the Negro communities are Jews.

11. Among Negroes, there is the same rift between the younger generation and the parent generation that exists among other ethnic groups.

12. The vast majority of the Negro population does not feel that disturbances, riots, and mob action advance the cause of the Negro.

Concerning conditions peculiar to Washington, D. C., the city is largely dependent upon Congress for funds. In April, 1967, Walter N. Tobriner, a District of Columbia Commissioner, warned Congress that disorders are likely to occur this summer unless funds for recreation programs are approved.

In mid-April, the Reverend H. Albion Ferrell, District Parole Board Chairman, said that much social and economic help is needed in Washington and that "swimming pools and the things swimming pools represent" will not be enough to maintain peace.

On May 10, 1967, Vice President Hubert Humphrey announced that Washington should have 15 new swimming pools completed by mid-July. On the same day, Secretary of Labor W. Willard Wirtz announced that \$5,400,000 would be spent on a program, beginning in June, to provide jobs or training for 4,000 Washingtonians.

In mid-May, 1967, Stokely Carmichael, who graduated from Howard University in Washington, D. C., in 1964, announced his plans to work as SNCC Field Secretary in the Nation's Capital this summer. He called for a massive "resistance movement" by young people to end the war in Vietnam.

Howard is primarily a Negro university. On March 21, 1967, Selective Service Director Lewis B. Hershey was booed from a platform at the university by antidraft protesters. A series of subsequent demonstrations led to the issuing of an order on May 5, 1967, by Howard President James M. Nabrit placing an administration veto over the time and place of demonstrations and banning unofficial press conferences. The order met with immediate defiance from the Black Power Committee, which held a campus demonstration and a press conference hours after the new rules were announced.

One source states that tensions are created by the "rabble-rousing" speeches by so-called Negro leaders, such as Carmichael, Marion Barry, and Julius Hobson. Barry was formerly SNCC Director in Washington. Hobson, an extremist, is Chairman of the District of Columbia chapter of Associated Community Teams (ACT).

This source states that these so-called leaders frequently accuse the local police of brutality, but investigation usually disproves the accusation. Another source pointed out that Barry and Lester McKinnie, SNCC Director in Washington, were attempting to provoke a situation when they were arrested recently after walking against a red traffic light. While real problems involving the attitude of the police toward Negroes do exist, the source adds, Barry needs issues to keep the SNCC organization alive. The fact that Barry had to attempt to provoke an incident, this source concludes, reflects an improvement in the police image.

Police officials and others indicate that a contributing factor of racial tension in Washington is irresponsible coverage given to all racial incidents or incidents with racial overtones by local newspapers and radio and television stations. It is said that radical and exaggerated statements are given publicity, without any attempt to clarify or refute these grossly biased remarks. Simple and honest reporting, it is felt, would do much to lower the general temper of the public. Similar comments are made about the national television coverage given to antiadministration statements by persons such as King, Carmichael, and Cassius Clay.



A member of the Citizens Advisory Council condemns SNCC for displaying in its Washington office windows posters of a white policeman shouting "Nigger S.O.B." and pictures of lynchings. According to this source, SNCC's exhortation to "Stop Police Brutality" is nothing short of hatred and an incitement to riot.

The fatal shooting of a 19-year-old Negro with a lengthy arrest record by a Washington policeman on May 1, 1967, has precipitated protest on the part of some Negroes. These Negroes threaten civil violence if the District Commissioners do not sponsor a "citizen investigation" of the shooting.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE MIDWESTAkron, Ohio

Population 300,000 (1967); 18 per cent Negro (1967).

Chief Harry Whiddon of the Akron Police Department sees the racial climate in Akron as vastly improved over last year. He reports that the improved situation has resulted from Mayor John Ballard's competent handling of racial matters and the steps taken by the Police Department to promote better relations with minority groups which previously exhibited keen resentment toward law enforcement officers.

However, Chief Whiddon and other knowledgeable observers advise that the potential for racial violence in Akron is difficult to evaluate for two primary reasons: first, there is an unpredictable element composed of Negro youths who are unorganized, undisciplined, and completely lacking in respect for law and order; second, there is the possible influence of outsiders who want to cause disruption for their own purposes. Either of these two elements can fan a spontaneous incident into a full-scale riot.

Benton Harbor, Michigan

Benton Harbor and adjoining Benton Township have a combined population of 45,000, of which 25 per cent is Negro.

Racial conditions in the area are described by local leaders as fairly satisfactory at the present time, although there is a prevalent uneasy feeling among both races that the peace is temporary. Civic committees, composed of both whites and Negroes, are apparently able to settle racial differences amicably. The area is said to be completely integrated, but civil rights groups claim that housing discrimination still exists.

Officials of the Benton Harbor Police Department and the Benton Township Police Department and other informed sources feel that future racial violence in the area is unlikely, but if it does occur it will be sparked by a spontaneous, unforeseen event and will begin among the younger Negroes, who are manifesting a growing belligerence.

## Chicago, Illinois

Population 3,466,000 (1966); 25 per cent Negro (1966).

While the potential for racial disorder in Chicago continues to exist, it is no greater than it was in 1966 because intensive and extensive efforts are being made to extend social justice to areas largely inhabited by minority groups. Nevertheless, it is recognized that a relatively minor incident can rapidly evolve into a major disorder and that actions by certain groups or individuals can alter the racial picture significantly overnight.

Unfortunately, there is a very real potential for a major disturbance within low-income, Negro neighborhoods. Prominent among these are: (1) the near west side of Chicago's Loop, (2) North Lawndale, (3) the east and west Garfield Park communities, and (4) several areas on Chicago's south side, such as Englewood. In addition, there is the Puerto Rican community on Chicago's north side, where disturbances occurred in June, 1966.

The major disorders in Chicago over the past several years have generally taken place within the confines of the areas listed above. However, the open-housing marches during the Summer of 1966 resulted in disturbances in all-white residential neighborhoods located primarily in the southwest and northwest sections of the city.

The impact of the presence in Chicago of Martin Luther King and other leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was somewhat limited during the early Summer of 1966. Ultimately, the Chicago Freedom Movement (CFM), dominated by the SCLC, initiated a program of open-occupancy marches into all-white areas known for their animosity toward Negroes. The marches escalated in intensity until August, when the city obtained an injunction limiting the number of marchers, setting the time for marches, and imposing other restrictions. Soon thereafter, a so-called "summit conference," which included Mayor Richard J. Daley, King, CFM representatives, and others, reached certain agreements and temporarily defused the open-housing issue.

However, these agreements were not approved in all respects by the more militant wings of the CFM and other civil rights organizations. More or less in protest, they organized open-housing marches into the western suburb of Cicero in September. These marches resulted in isolated incidents of violence, necessitated the calling out of the Illinois National Guard to preserve order, and served to aggravate the prevalent anti-Negro antagonism for which Cicero is well known.

Within the past several months, charges have been leveled by segments of the local civil rights movement, primarily the CFM, that city agencies party to the August, 1966, agreements were not honoring their obligations. These charges led to a flurry of publicity on comments by King and Reverend Andrew Young, SCIC Executive Director, that it may be necessary to renew marches and demonstrations which would make the 1966 marches "pale by comparison." In early April, 1967, Mayor Daley stated that the violators of the August, 1966, injunction would be arrested and law and order would prevail. Additionally, Cook County Sheriff Joseph Woods stated that violence would not be tolerated in suburban Cook County this summer. Thus, the original charges had the net effect of hardening attitudes and causing a loss of communication between civil rights advocates and local government.

A growing problem is the activity of "black power" advocates, who inflame emotions; inflate minor incidents, such as police matters, out of perspective; and attempt to destroy confidence in law enforcement agencies.

Certain organizations present a similar problem even though the vast majority of Chicago's Negro citizens have turned their backs on such groups. Among these groups are the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Deacons for Defense and Justice (DDJ), and Associated Community Teams (ACT). The DDJ, with an estimated membership of seven, advocates arms for the defense of Negroes. ACT and SNCC are militant civil rights groups. Chicago members of ACT associate with a "black power" group.

An individual worthy of mention is nationally known entertainer Dick Gregory, who ran for mayor of Chicago as an independent write-in candidate in March, 1967. He has led numerous civil rights demonstrations in Chicago and elsewhere and has been arrested in connection with this activity for disorderly conduct, resisting arrest, and the like. Gregory is considered a "maverick" who does not lend exclusive support to any civil rights group and participates in activities which appeal to him personally.

Although a large number of Negro families have found homes in previously all-white communities without incident, the possibility of violence resulting from future move-ins cannot be ignored.

In the white communities, there are counterparts of the Negro nationalist groups. Prominent among these minority exclusion groups is Operation Crescent (OC). It is reportedly a combination of some 19 organizations in white neighborhoods. The OC, which is opposed to open housing and forced integration, such as in the public schools, has said that it will sponsor counterdemonstrations against civil rights marches in white neighborhoods. Primarily, OC represents neighborhoods forming a crescent running from Chicago's southwest side, through near-west suburbs, to Chicago's northwest side.

At the present time, there are no specific situations in Chicago which contain the immediate potential for an outbreak of racial violence. It is realized, however, that disturbances or violence can occur at any time. The low-income, high-population-density, slum areas of Chicago's south and west sides must be considered tense and volatile. Residents of these neighborhoods, with particular emphasis on Lawndale and Garfield Park, feel that there has been no improvement in city services and facilities since last summer. In many instances, the police are regarded as the enemy in these neighborhoods. Inhabitants of these areas are also convinced that local merchants, particularly white merchants, charge prices that are higher than those in white neighborhoods.

The Negro community feels that violence and disturbances will occur again, particularly in the Lawndale area, and the only question in the minds of most residents of these areas is what type of incident will set them off.

Cicero-Berwyn, Illinois

The adjacent communities of Cicero and Berwyn have a combined all-white population of 128,000. Part of Cicero borders directly on Chicago's west side Negro slum areas, and this boundary has long represented an invisible line, beyond which Chicago's slum areas have never extended.

Superintendent of Police Joseph Barloga of Cicero feels that the Cicero-Berwyn area is of particular concern because of the publicly acknowledged anti-Negro sentiment prevalent in these all-white communities, the past exclusion of Negroes, and the disturbance which took place in September, 1966, on the occasion of an open-housing march by Negro civil rights militants from Chicago into the area. This disturbance resulted in the arrest of some 40 persons. Anti-Negro sentiment has been compounded by the formation of so-called property owners' groups, the majority of which are strongly opposed to open housing. In Superintendent Barloga's opinion, if there is a Negro move-in or a civil rights march into Cicero during the Summer of 1967--as has been threatened by Martin Luther King--violence will be almost a certainty.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Population 500,329 (1966); 24 per cent Negro (1966).

Public and police officials and informed observers report that, in general, racial conditions are good in Cincinnati. Chief of Police Jacob Schott says that because the Negro community is widely dispersed and the City Council provides a forum for leaders of protest groups to set forth their views, there is less possibility of violence in Cincinnati than in other large cities. In addition, a Police-Community Relations Bureau has recently been formed by the Police Department to expand the activities of district-level committees whose function is to promote greater harmony between the police and the Negro community.

These officials say that the potential for racial violence is present if someone triggers it or if an outsider such as Stokely Carmichael is able to precipitate a disturbance. Public Safety Director Henry Sandman notes a possible tension point could be the rising rate of unemployment among Negro teen-agers and young adults, especially in connection with the discriminatory hiring policies of the building trade unions.

Cleveland, Ohio

Population 810,858 (1965); 33 per cent Negro (1965).

Local police officials, responsible civil rights representatives, civic leaders, and knowledgeable observers indicate that there is no reason to expect full-scale rioting in Cleveland this summer such as occurred in the Hough area in July, 1966. All expect sporadic incidents to take place throughout the East Side, such as rock throwing, fire bombing, and vandalism practiced by teen-age Negro hoodlums and restless, jobless youth.

Sergeant John J. Ungvary, Coordinator of Racial Matters for the Cleveland Police Department, believes the racial climate has improved recently as a result of efforts by the Municipal Community Relations Board, articles in the local Negro newspaper, and actions of aroused responsible citizens against the hoodlums who have been creating terror in the streets of the Negro ghetto.

In June, 1966, several disturbances occurred in the vicinity of the Jomo "Freedom" Kenyatta (JFK) House, privately operated community center which was a hangout for teen-age hoodlums and black nationalists from the time it opened in 1964. Negro youths threw rocks at cars and store windows, tossed fire bombs, and destroyed one supermarket by fire. Thereafter, the Police Department, which considered this center the Number One potential trouble spot for organized racial violence, closed the JFK House for sanitation reasons and building-code violations.

There have been no major disturbances in Cleveland since the widespread rioting of July 18-21, 1966, which resulted in four deaths, \$500,000 damage, and 252 arrests. However, incidents have occurred, such as one in April, 1967, when six Negro youths burned down a school in the heart of the Negro community, causing damage of \$250,000. Later that month, a rowdy group of Negro teen-agers threw rocks and bottles at automobiles and store windows and looted business establishments.



In the Spring of 1967, Fred A. Evans, a Negro, who likes to be called "Ahmen" and is a self-claimed astrology expert, predicted that May 9, 1967, would signal the outbreak of hostilities between the United States and Red China and would be the beginning of a general uprising by Negroes everywhere. Actually, "Ahmen" is the leader of a small group--about 100--of black nationalist extremists known as the United Black Brotherhood (UBB), which is the successor to the JFK House. According to police, most members of the UBB do not have any real understanding of the black nationalist philosophy and are primarily a group of lawless youths who are now using the black nationalist slogans as a cloak for their criminal conduct.

Early in May, 1967, CORE announced that it had picked Cleveland as a "target city" for "an extensive program for the Negro community." A week later, Martin Luther King announced that the city had been selected for organized civil rights action this summer. He said his Southern Christian Leadership Conference would start a program in June similar to programs begun in Chicago, Louisville, and Grenada, Mississippi. King termed Cleveland a "teeming cauldron of hostility."

#### Dayton, Ohio

Population 270,000 (1967); 22 per cent Negro (1967).

Officials of local civil rights groups and the Dayton Police Department agree that racial conditions in that city appear to be very good. According to Mrs. Miley O. Williamson, Secretary of the Dayton chapter of the NAACP, racial antagonism which could result in violence does not exist. Clair W. Martz, Acting Chief of Police in Dayton, admits that a spontaneous eruption could occur over a relatively minor incident, but to his knowledge organized violence is not in the offing.

#### Detroit, Michigan

Population 1,640,000 (1966); 35 per cent Negro (1965).

Informed sources have given a favorable general picture of the overall racial situation in Detroit. Serious collaborative efforts by dedicated leaders of both races appear to have produced comparatively successful results, with great strides being made to establish a peaceful equilibrium between the white and Negro people.

Highly placed law enforcement officials indicate that they know of no existing situations that might trigger racial violence. They very cautiously added that the same situation existed last year and yet riots did occur. All concede that if these riots break out again this year, they will undoubtedly repeat the pattern of 1966; that is, they will emanate from exclusively Negro districts which have high concentrations of loitering teen-agers, violent crime, and all-round lawlessness.

Officials agree that they do not feel violence will occur, but if it does, it will probably stem from some minor incident like the issuance of a traffic citation or some equally minor charge involving residents of the Negro districts.

Responsible Negro citizens who have firsthand knowledge of conditions in these districts believe that racial violence will occur this summer in these areas. They base their judgment on the rather large concentration of Nation of Islam members, whose pro-Negro and antiwhite propaganda incites Negro youths to crime and violence; on the ideas of "black power" implanted by the visits of Stokely Carmichael to the Detroit area during the past year; and by the general conditions in these Negro districts described as harboring smoldering hostility which lends itself to sudden racial incidents, particularly during the hot, summer months.

#### East St. Louis, Illinois

Population 85,000 (1967); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, local civic leaders, and representatives of civil rights organizations indicate that the prospects for racial peace in East St. Louis during the summer months appear to be very good and, barring some unforeseen incident, no racial violence is expected. It is generally believed

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that the greatest potential for racial violence would come from minor flare-ups on construction jobs caused by the difficulties encountered by Negroes in attempting to join labor unions.

According to Billy Jones, attorney for the local chapter of the NAACP, the only person who might try to foment a disturbance is Homer Randolph, Chairman of the East St. Louis branch of CORE, and he has no genuine issue for which to fight. John M. Kirkpatrick, leader of the East St. Louis Human Relations Commission, stated that probably the most opportune time for violence there had passed; that was, when Stokely Carmichael spoke at a local all-Negro high school in April, 1967, and called for the exercise of "black power." The audience did not indicate any tendency to follow his advice.

Flint, Michigan

Population 200,000 (1967); 22<sup>1</sup> per cent Negro (1967).

It is the opinion of responsible civic leaders that Flint, whose Mayor is a Negro, has little racial tension that cannot be settled through established channels of communication. The city has a high employment rate and is considered to be fully integrated, with the possible exception of a few elementary schools in predominantly white areas. A Community Relations Bureau, established by the Flint Police Department and composed of responsible Negro and white leaders representing civic, law enforcement, Negro, and church groups, meets monthly and irons out problems of concern to the community.

Although it appears to be the consensus that racial tension is minimal, there are some who view the situation in a different light. A national NAACP leader recently spoke in Flint and described the city as a "Jim Crow town," contending that housing and the educational system remain segregated. The President of the Flint NAACP, Edgar Holt, is considered extremely militant, has participated in picketing demonstrations, and is presently considering economic boycotts to enforce open-housing legislation.

Chief of Police Gerald Lyons describes two situations which could activate a definite violence potential: forcible arrests in a predominantly Negro area and a prolonged strike at the General Motors plant with resultant unemployment.

Gary, Indiana

Population 182,500 (1960); 55 per cent Negro (1967).

De facto segregated housing is currently the most volatile and the most potentially dangerous and explosive issue in Gary. Negro leaders predict that if events take their natural course, the entire city will eventually become a Negro ghetto surrounded by a white wall of suburbia. The Omnibus Civil Rights Bill and the Open Occupancy Ordinance were passed in 1965, and Mayor A. Martin Katz created the Gary Human Relations Commission to enforce open occupancy. However, an injunction has delayed the enforcement of open occupancy and has caused resentment among Negroes, who now threaten to take direct action.

Members of an extremely militant youth group called Students for a Democratic Society have injected themselves into slum clearance by forming an organization known as the Freedom Union for Slum Eradication (FUSE). FUSE, a direct action group, has been criticized by some Negro leaders for playing on the emotions of the Negro people by raising unfounded and reckless charges against community poverty and slum-clearance programs. A number of FUSE representatives are said to be arrogant and hostile toward authority of any kind.

Police and other city officials and civil rights leaders have expressed grave concern over the violence potential of Negro gangs--some of whose members are in their 20's--because of their possession of weapons and fire bombs. These gangs are reportedly bragging about future plans for violence. Overall membership is estimated at 600. Combined, these gangs represent sections of the entire midtown Negro community.

In a public announcement in August, 1966, Chief of Police Conway C. Mullins estimated that there were "50,000" armed persons in Gary and that their possession of small arms constitutes a dangerous situation because it facilitates the commission of crimes of violence. Chief Mullins denounced existing lax gun-control laws and advocated much stricter legislation governing the purchase and possession of weapons.

Gary police-community relations have also come under fire. One civil rights leader characterizes these relations as "lousy," but adds that this criticism applies to both white and Negro police officers. The crux of the criticism is that officers are not adequately trained to handle people and problems that could develop into riotous situations.

Negroes in Gary comprise a nearly solid and formidable voting bloc. Three of the present nine city Councilmen are Negroes; one of the three Gary Police Commissioners is a Negro; and the Lake County Coroner, a Negro, resides in Gary. All of the city's eight high schools have some Negro pupils.

This Negro voting power was clearly evident in the recent victory of Richard G. Hatcher, 33-year-old Negro Councilman-at-large, who won the Democratic nomination for Mayor of Gary in the primary election on May 2, 1967, over the incumbent, Mayor Katz. The campaign was conducted on an extremely bitter level and has undoubtedly left scars among Negroes and whites. Katz, for example, called Hatcher a "radical, extremist, and an advocate of black power." One of Hatcher's main supporters is alleged to have asserted that "we should use whatever methods possible, including violence, in order to meet our goals." It is feared that any friction over voter registration or almost any incident during the forthcoming election campaign could possibly spark violence. Hatcher is generally conceded to stand a good chance of being elected.

#### Harvey-Dixmoor, Illinois

Harvey has a population of 25,000, of which 28 per cent is Negro. The Negro community is located directly opposite Dixmoor, which has a population of 6,000, 60 per cent being Negro.

During the Summers of 1964, 1965, and 1966, the Harvey-Dixmoor area was the scene of riots revolving around a liquor store and a television store. A police officer was shot in the chest during the 1966 disturbance. Since the Spring of 1967, police officers, entering the area surrounding these stores, have been heckled and, in some instances, attempts have been made to prevent them from entering. These incidents have been instigated by young hoodlums and youths who are hostile toward authority generally. Such incidents are not considered as civil rights situations, but the individuals involved could conceivably create violence.

Indianapolis, Indiana

Population 500,000 (1967); 25 per cent Negro (1967).

Informed sources do not think violence is imminent, as sincere efforts are being made to relieve conditions which breed racial unrest. The local NAACP director and the police are achieving mutual understanding of their problems and are improving channels between Negroes and the police in an effort to forestall incidents that could spark violence.

Reverend Andrew J. Brown, President of the Indiana chapter of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, does not agree that the racial situation has improved. He contends that young Negroes, particularly, are losing patience and an incident might ignite the "powder keg."

Kansas City, Missouri

Kansas City, Missouri, has a population of 576,000, 19 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Kansas City, Kansas, has a population of 180,000, 17 per cent of which is Negro.

Within the past year, there have been several demonstrations in Kansas City, Missouri, protesting alleged police brutality and discrimination against Negroes. These demonstrations were led by the Council for United Action (CUA), an organization formed last year with the help of Saul Alinsky's Industrial Areas Foundation (IAF).



The IAF keeps a man, Michael James Miller, in the city to serve as organizer and advisor for CUA. Miller, a graduate of the University of California, at Berkeley, has been active in the past in SNCC. In the Summer of 1966, he attended a National Youth Encampment held by the Communist Party, USA, at Camp Webatuck, Wingdale, New York.

The CUA is planning economic boycotts to be held in Kansas City. Responsible minority and community leaders know of no specific potential for racial violence. They point out that spontaneous disturbances might occur when allegations are made of unequal or brutal treatment by police or when some other incident is magnified by irresponsible talk or publicity.

#### Lansing, Michigan

Population 120,034 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Civic leaders in Lansing feel that the efforts that have been made through such agencies as the Human Relations Council, composed of prominent Negroes and whites in the community, have done much toward keeping racial matters from becoming controversial issues. It is felt that no militant groups exist among Lansing's Negroes and that community efforts being made to secure better job opportunities and better housing and the development of recreational facilities for Negroes attest to the success of the collaborative efforts of Negro leaders and city officials.

As to the possibility of racial violence in the area, responsible members of the Negro community feel that racial disturbances may occur this summer, but if they do, they will be spontaneous, unorganized reactions to some police enforcement matter.

#### Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Population 750,000 (1967); 11 per cent Negro (1967).

Police officials, leaders of the Negro community, and other informed sources state that there has generally been no change in the racial situation in the city during



the past year. It is pointed out that a large number of the Negroes in Milwaukee are home owners and live in single or double family dwellings and there are no tenement districts.

Some Negro leaders feel that the Police Department is too severe in its relations with Negroes and may be applying a double standard in dealing with Negro and white citizens. On the other hand, Chief of Police Harold Breier contends that law and order can be maintained only through vigorous law enforcement.

The main worry of police is the potentially explosive influence posed by the Milwaukee Youth Council (MYC) of the NAACP, a civil rights group made up principally of juveniles under the direction of Father James E. Groppi, assistant pastor of St. Boniface Roman Catholic Church. The headquarters of the MYC is at Freedom House, in the heart of the Negro community. Father Groppi, who is white, is an outspoken civil rights leader.

In early March, 1967, three members of the MYC told police that Father Groppi and members of the MYC had made plans for the fire bombing of a number of residences of public officials as a diversionary tactic so that members of the MYC could start a riot. However, police have been unable to obtain sufficient corroborative information to prosecute Father Groppi and others.

On May 5, 1967, Father Groppi and two members of the MYC were arrested for interfering with police officers in the arrest of two 16-year-old boys charged with disorderly conduct in the vicinity of Freedom House. As a result, 75 young people gathered at the scene of the arrest and threw rocks, which broke squad car windows. At the time of his arrest, Groppi allegedly shouted, "Start the riot."

Since that time, police cars cruising the area have been pelted with stones and once a fire bomb struck the roof of the vehicle but did not ignite. On another occasion, two abandoned houses in this neighborhood were set on fire by a 12-year-old boy who admitted that he hangs around Freedom House, although he is not a member. Because of the provocative activities prompted by Father Groppi and members of the MYC, police are keeping a close watch on the immediate neighborhood of Freedom House.

On May 13, about 500 civil rights demonstrators, led by Father Groppi, marched on Milwaukee's police headquarters to protest what they contended was police harassment of Negroes. Father Groppi had been complaining of police harassment for several weeks.

Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota

Minneapolis has a population of 482,892 (1960), and adjacent St. Paul has a population of 313,000 (1960). In each city, Negroes comprise less than three per cent of the population.

The racial situation in Minneapolis and St. Paul has not changed to any extent in recent months, according to sources most familiar with racial conditions in this area. There is no known condition at this time which would forecast racial unrest or mob violence in these twin cities during the next few months.

Muskegon, Michigan

Muskegon has a population of 46,000, 15 per cent of which is Negro, and adjacent Muskegon Heights has a population of 21,000, of which 40 per cent is Negro.

A number of informed sources in this area state that employment is high; schools are both good and integrated; and no racial antagonisms exist at present. Civil rights demonstrations are peaceful and are aimed primarily at better housing and fair treatment for Negroes.

Although overall race relations in the area are considered good, law enforcement officials are following with some concern two potentially dangerous trends. The first is an increase in violent crime in the heavily populated Negro areas, which is considered indicative of a growing contempt for authority especially prevalent in the 16 to 20 age group, who attempt to screen their lawlessness by civil rights activities. Too, within the past year, Sheriff Marion Calkins has noted a resentment on the part of the white people in the area over this rise in crime and a definite increase in requests for gun permits and in the purchases of firearms. Sheriff Calkins is watching for evidence of organizational activities and, together with community leaders, feels that there is a growing potential for racial violence in this area among irresponsible Negro youths.

Omaha, Nebraska

Population 385,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

In July, August, and September, 1966, and March and April, 1967, there were serious incidents of racial violence in the Negro district of Omaha. All of these occurred spontaneously and involved primarily Negro youths under 25 years of age. It was necessary to call upon the National Guard to stop the widespread vandalism and looting that occurred in July, 1966. Two of these incidents followed necessary police action in the Negro district; one resulted from strong feelings aroused by the suicide of an incarcerated Negro youth; and the other was considered a continuation of teen-age fights at a local recreational center.

Informed sources consider the present situation tense and rate the possibility of racial violence "quite high" due to the ill feeling created by past incidents and to the rapidity with which Negro youths respond to the leadership of militant malcontents who are not associated with any civil rights groups. Informed sources agree that communications between law enforcement and city officials are open but are not as good as they were a year ago.

The prevailing mood in the city is one of impatience. Statements that the city will tolerate no more violence are creating greater hostility and tension. Negro leaders are criticizing the Police Department for inadequate protection against the rampaging youths, alleging that the police are reluctant to enter the Negro district and possibly precipitate an incident that could lead to further violence.

St. Louis, Missouri

Population 700,000 (1965); 29 per cent Negro (1960).

In 1963, the St. Louis branch of CORE picketed the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company, alleging job discrimination. As a result of the picketing, 15 demonstrators were arrested.

They were later found in contempt of court and received fines and jail sentences of varying severity, which they began to serve in March, 1967. Protests were initiated in March, 1967, against the Jefferson Bank and Trust Company and against Judge Michael J. Scott, who had found the demonstrators guilty of contempt of court. Picketing has been carried out at the Judge's home almost daily since March 13, 1967, under the sponsorship of a group known as the East-West Coordinating Council (EWCC). Eugene Tournour, who has been described as a member of the Communist Party, USA, in Chicago, was reportedly in St. Louis to assist in organizing the EWCC.

Knowledgeable sources in St. Louis agree that the jailing of the Jefferson Bank demonstrators serves as a rallying point for those who may wish to stir the emotions of the Negro community. It is agreed that eventual violence is a possibility. Some observers have gone so far as to suggest that even though the sentences meted out to the demonstrators were deserved, it might be wise to release them in the hope of easing tensions among Negroes. It is also felt by some that violence could be triggered by friction between police officers and Negroes, no matter how trivial the precipitating incident.

Another point of danger is the problem of unemployment among Negroes. Approximately 4,000 Negro youths who were employed during the Summer of 1966 will not be employed during the Summer of 1967 because of a lack of available funds.

Outsiders such as Eugene Tournour, Martin Luther King, and Stokely Carmichael are seen as adding to the potential for unrest and violence. Carmichael spoke in St. Louis in April, 1967. One observer expressed the opinion that if such individuals, as these would stay away from St. Louis, the problems might be more successfully resolved.

#### Waukegan-North Chicago-Zion, Illinois

Waukegan, North Chicago, and Zion are adjacent communities with a total population of 200,000, 13 per cent of which is Negro.

The Negro community in Waukegan was the site of disturbances in the late Summer of 1966 precipitated by minor hoodlums and irresponsible teen-agers rather than being of racial origin. However, the strong language used by Waukegan's Mayor Robert Sabonjian in denouncing the persons responsible engendered resentment among the entire Negro community, who felt that all were being blamed for the actions of relatively few. The violence potential in the Negro tavern area where the 1966 disturbances took place is considered to still exist, as many individuals there reportedly possess firearms, which would create an obvious police problem if an incident did take place.

A tangible racial issue presently exists in regard to efforts by white and Negro parents to get the Waukegan School Board to change the boundaries of a local elementary school to promote a better racial balance within the school. A suit to force the district to change the boundaries is presently pending before the Illinois Supreme Court. Should the Court decide against the plaintiffs or undue delays occur, this could conceivably be an issue around which demonstrations could arise.

RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE WESTBakersfield, California

Population 64,000 (1967); 15 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials and Negro leaders consider the racial situation good at this time, and no trouble is anticipated. However, all agree that there is always the possibility of spontaneous outbreaks of violence from time to time, particularly during the summer months when the young people are not attending school. Police officials observe that racial violence in Bakersfield has always been on the heels of major racial riots in other localities, and they believe this has a bearing on future disturbances.

As a result of a racial disturbance in May, 1966, specific orders have been given to police officers to shoot to kill any participant in a disorder who is seen using any type of weapon against a policeman. These orders cover the throwing of objects and have been made known to the Negro community. It is believed that the orders will prevent future disturbances.

Denver, Colorado

Population 512,000 (1967); 8 per cent Negro (1967).

Police and city officials, religious leaders, and heads of civil rights groups state that they can foresee no racial riots for the Denver area unless some militant outside groups manufacture a problem which does not exist in Denver at the present time. The only real problem during the past several summers has been due to the congregating of Negro teenagers, particularly on weekends, in the Dahlia Shopping Center, where these youths made considerable noise and engaged in drag racing. Some of them were on probation at the time. Integration leaders and others concerned advise that there were no racial overtones to these disturbances and that sufficient groundwork is being laid now to control the situation should it arise during the Summer of 1967.

Los Angeles, California

Population of Los Angeles County 6,038,771 (1960); 8 per cent Negro, 10 per cent Mexican-American (1960).

In general, the racial situation in Los Angeles and its metropolitan area appears to be normal with no apparent



potential for a widespread riot such as the one that took place in the Watts district in August, 1965. Police sources advise that improved relations between the Los Angeles Police Department and the Negro community are due to the new Chief of Police, Thomas Reddin, and his positive efforts to establish community relations offices and to maintain contact with the Negro minority.

All sources agree that violence of a spontaneous nature could occur among groups of idle Negro youths, as has happened in the past. A high official of the Los Angeles Police Department reports that as summer approaches, the Police Department is receiving more and more rumors of possible violence when school ends. He further states that there appears to be a general movement among restless young Negro elements toward the "black power" concept, which suggests the possibility of future violence. Another source says that State Senator Mervyn M. Dymally is attempting to arrange a Black Power Conference in Southern California, but he has no indication of what the results of such efforts might be.

In April, 1967, a fight occurred between a Negro and a white student at Long Beach Polytechnic High School which resulted in the boycott of the school track team by 43 Negro student athletes, who were subsequently dropped from the team. Although 15 members were reinstated, an official of the Long Beach Police Department says that close liaison is being maintained with school administrators, as he feels the situation represents a potential for violence.

Chief of Police William Kennedy, of Inglewood, reports that there is a potential for trouble in the Morning Side Park section of Inglewood, which is rapidly changing from a white to a Negro section. However, he points out that the Negroes who have moved into the section appear to be of the law-abiding and responsible type.

According to local government and civil rights leaders, the only trouble spot in the Monrovia-Duarte area is in the vicinity of Huntington Drive and California Street, where Negro juveniles congregate and frequently become involved in fights, either among themselves or with law enforcement officers. On April 14, 1967, a group of four young Negroes attacked police officers who had stopped them for a traffic violation near Huntington Drive. About 50 other Negro youths appeared and additional patrol cars were called. The original offenders were arrested, and the rest of the crowd quickly dispersed. A similar situation exists in Pasadena in the vicinity of Fair Oaks



and Mountain Avenues, where young Negroes often gather in the evenings and occasionally engage in altercations with the police.

Venice, which has been the scene of racial incidents in the past, is regarded by a high police official as definitely offering a potential for violence. However, the Los Angeles Police Department is taking positive steps to improve police-community relations, and the president of the local chapter of the NAACP has consulted with Governor Reagan regarding an "on the job" training program the NAACP would like to see in operation by June, 1967.

Dionicio Morales, Executive Director of the Mexican Opportunities Foundation, states that relations between Mexican-Americans and Negroes in Whittier continue to worsen, as Mexican-Americans feel that Negroes are receiving preferential job placement. Another uneasy situation exists in the Mexican-American community of Santa Fe Springs, where homes are being condemned to make way for low-cost Federal housing. Homeowners are protesting this action and have threatened to use firearms if necessary.

#### Oakland, California

Population 378,000 (1967); 27 per cent Negro (1967).

During the past year, there has been some racial strife in Oakland. In August, 1966, following the arrest of a teen-age Negro girl for shoplifting at a food market, the market was vandalized and later burned to the ground. In October, the Ad Hoc Committee for Quality Education, formed and endorsed or supported by civil rights, neighborhood, and church groups, announced that its demands had been rejected by the local Board of Education. A school boycott was held. Approximately 200 Negro teen-agers entered one high school and overturned furniture. White students and teachers were beaten. One teacher was knocked unconscious and robbed and had to be sent to the hospital. Three of Oakland's six high schools--Oakland Technical, Castlemont, and Fremont, all three with large numbers of both Negro and white students--are believed to have potential for violence.

There have been other incidents of vandalism and beatings. The police are harassed and charged with brutality. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland, formed in December, 1966, roam the streets, armed to protect themselves

and fellow Negroes from "police brutality." On May 2, 1967, the Black Panthers, armed with loaded pistols, shotguns, and rifles, descended upon the State Capitol, in Sacramento. They entered the chamber where the assembly was in session. A Black Panther leader read a statement protesting an assembly bill that would ban the carrying of loaded weapons within city limits. There was no violence, and they were ejected by State Police.

It is believed that idle teen-age and young adult groups, as well as the Black Panther Party, might seize upon some incident as an opportunity to cause widespread violence.

Various civil rights groups continue to work for an end to de facto segregation, for equal employment opportunities for Negroes, and for an end to "police brutality."

#### Oxnard, California

Population 65,000 (1967); 5 per cent Negro, 17 per cent Mexican-American (1967).

According to the Chief of Police, the general racial situation at Oxnard is good; however, during the past year there have been isolated instances of animosity toward police officers on the part of youthful Negroes and Mexican-Americans, which indicate to him a definite possibility of violence as the result of an arrest or some incident between the police and these youths. He points out that the Colonia District in Oxnard is potentially explosive in that it is an area of sub-standard homes inhabited by Mexican-Americans and Negroes. Many of them have criminal records and are contemptuous of law enforcement officers and, because of their low economic status, undoubtedly harbor resentment toward society in general.

#### Portland, Oregon

Population 372,676 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

Local government and police officials, leaders of various racial groups, and sources representing a cross section of the community feel that the racial situation in Portland is excellent and that "Watts"-type rioting is inconceivable under present conditions. They caution, however, that small disorders involving teen-agers could occur if ignited by a spark such as friction between white and Negro students or apparently overaggressive police activity.

According to the police, any potential for racial unrest is concentrated in the Negro-dominated Albina District

and immediate surrounding area. Police advise that the only specific locations for possible racial disturbances are McDonald's Hamburger Drive-In Restaurant or Jefferson High School after an athletic event attracting a large number of students. Both the restaurant and the high school are located in the Albina District.

Richmond, California

Population 80,000 (1966); 20 per cent Negro (1966).

In April, 1967, about 20 Negro youths looted a clothing store. The police felt that the looting might have occurred because a police officer, earlier in the evening, had shot and killed a suspected burglar, a 22-year-old Negro, found running from a liquor store. The Black Panther Party for Self Defense of Oakland has used such incidents as this in seeking support in North Richmond.

The Police Department, the City Council (which has two Negro members), and various civic organizations, with the cooperation of new industries moving into the area, are making an effort to solve their racial problems. They feel that job opportunities for Negroes are of utmost importance but that there is no unrest serious enough to cause violence.

San Bernardino, California

Population 120,000 (1967); 9 per cent Negro (1960).

Police officials in San Bernardino feel that although conditions have improved, there remains a definite potential for violence in the San Bernardino area. There are certain Negroes who have made what are considered to be excessive demands on the community, mostly for complete integration of all schools, and unless these demands are met immediately, there is the possibility that direct action will be taken by the Negro population.

The west end section of San Bernardino is regarded as the "powder keg" area. There have been a number of Negro youths who, in the past, have caused incidents apparently in the hope that they would develop into full-scale riots. Although liaison between the Negro community and law enforcement agencies has improved over the past year, there is always the possibility that the arrest of a Negro can escalate into a riot.

San Diego, California

Population 650,000 (1966); 9 per cent Negro (1966).

During the 1965 Watts riot in Los Angeles, minor disturbances occurred in southeast San Diego in Logan Heights, a predominantly Negro section, where 98 per cent of the city's Negro population and 50 per cent of the members of its other minority groups reside.

Police officials have stated that they have no information of imminent racial difficulties. They point out that, in the past, any disturbances in San Diego have been spontaneous and unpredictable and that trouble in other parts of the country, particularly in Los Angeles, has a contagious effect on the San Diego Negro community.

San Francisco, California

Population 740,200 (1966); 16 per cent Negro (1966).

There are four main areas of concern in San Francisco. These are: the Hunters Point area, Fillmore District, Mission District, and Haight-Ashbury District. There is also Chinatown, where the crime rate is growing fast among youngsters who are breaking away from the customs of their law-abiding ancestors.

The Hunters Point area consists mainly of temporary World War II housing units, which are scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The area is populated predominantly by Negroes, a large number of whom were brought into the city from southern states to work in the shipyards during World War II. It is a trouble spot because the inhabitants are dissatisfied with the housing and many, including school drop-outs, do not have the skills to qualify for employment in a city where business offices are the principal employers.

The Fillmore District, consisting largely of dilapidated and overcrowded housing, has a high incidence of crime and delinquency. The Mission District contains a high percentage of Spanish-speaking families and a 15-acre World War II temporary housing unit that is occupied almost entirely by Negroes. The Spanish-speaking element in the Mission District believes that it has been neglected and overlooked in employment opportunities. The Haight-Ashbury District is referred to as a psychedelic community because it is rapidly being taken over by "hippies," who use LSD and marijuana and dress in a gaudy manner.

The Hunters Point and Fillmore Districts were the scene of three days of rioting in September, 1966, after a white policeman shot and killed a 16-year-old Negro youth who was riding in a stolen car. The California National Guard was called to quell the rioting. For several days, in mid-May, 1967, scattered violence and vandalism took place throughout the city, with most of the trouble again centering in the Hunters Point and Fillmore areas. In unseasonably hot weather, gangs of Negro youths tossed rocks at car and store windows, assaulted pedestrians, and started fires.

Chief of Police Thomas J. Cahill stated that race relations are generally good in San Francisco; however, unemployment among young Negroes and house evictions to make room for redevelopment may cause difficulties. Chief Cahill also stated that Martin Luther King and Stokely Carmichael have a definite effect on the Negro residents of San Francisco and, therefore, the activities of these two individuals could affect the racial situation in the city.

Another individual with considerable influence in the Negro community is Dr. Carlton Benjamin Goodlett, a surgeon and editor of the weekly, "The Sun Reporter," which is designed for a Negro audience. Dr. Goodlett, who was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor of California in 1966, was considered to be a CPUSA member in 1947. He is the only American who participates in meetings of the Presidential Committee of the World Council of Peace, an international communist front group.

While several civil rights organizations have headquarters in San Francisco, the most militant is the Black Panther Party. This organization originated in Lowndes County, Alabama, where it was known as the Lowndes County Freedom Organization. Certain members of this group are armed, allegedly for self-defense. On February 21, 1967, several Black Panthers, wearing black berets and carrying shotguns, rifles, and pistols, appeared at the San Francisco International Airport to act as bodyguards for Betty X, widow of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, who was arriving by plane. No action was taken against this group by law enforcement officers in order to avoid injury to bystanders.

In summary, San Francisco's racial relations are generally good. There is general agreement that no group is planning racial violence, and there is just as much agreement that, if racial violence does erupt, it will be triggered by an isolated incident. Its underlying causes will be lack of job opportunities for the limited skills in the minority

communities and discontent among Negroes living in temporary wartime housing scheduled to be demolished in 1970. The feeling prevails in the Negro community that redevelopment is designed primarily to drive them from the city so that high-rent housing can be constructed for white families. On the other hand, San Francisco officials are extremely sensitive to the demands of the minority communities, and the San Francisco Police Department Community Relations Unit has received almost universal commendation for its work.

Seattle, Washington

. Population 557,087 (1960); 5 per cent Negro (1960).

There have been no racial demonstrations in Seattle during the past year, according to the Seattle Police Department. Police officials and civil rights leaders point to progress made in the civil rights field during the past 12 months and do not foresee any likelihood of violence in the near future:



## RACIAL VIOLENCE POTENTIAL IN THE SOUTH

### Atlanta, Georgia

Population 487,455 (1960); 38 per cent Negro (1960).

The main activity of civil rights groups in Atlanta has been devoted to occasional picketing or otherwise demonstrating against slum housing conditions that exist in some predominantly Negro communities. Protests have also been made against the failure of some businesses to employ what is considered by some to be a representative number of Negroes.

Three substandard Negro communities where violence-provoking incidents could occur are the Summerhill area, the Vine City area, and the Boulevard area. Any real or fancied incident of violence in a substandard area between a Negro and a white person, especially if the white person is a law enforcement officer, can instantly fan racial resentments into further violence. In the past, when news of racial incidents has spread, individuals such as those connected with SNCC have rushed to the scene for the purpose of provoking residents of the area to rebel against authority.

Hate organizations, both Negro and white, present a very real threat. For example, in March, 1967, Atlanta police arrested five Black Muslims--adherents of the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate organization--after a complaint was received that Negro citizens were attacked by Muslims selling "Muhammad Speaks," the newspaper published by the Nation of Islam. While the Black Muslims were being booked at the Atlanta Police Department, they attacked police officers on duty, hospitalizing three policemen.

Members of Klan groups are antagonistic toward such individuals as Stokely Carmichael, a leading figure in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, whose national headquarters are located in Atlanta, and Martin Luther King, President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, whose headquarters are also situated in Atlanta. Many other members of the white community share this dislike of Carmichael and King.

### Birmingham, Alabama

Population 345,000 (1967); 40 per cent Negro (1967).



Detective Marcus Jones, Sr., of the Birmingham Police Department, who handles racial matters in the city, states that during the past year Birmingham has enjoyed good racial relations. He says there have been no bombing incidents or acts of individual terrorism. However, on February 17, 1967, an 18-year-old Negro youth burglarizing an elementary school was shot and killed by a city police officer. This incident triggered daily demonstrations but, according to Detective Jones, police protection accounted for the fact that no violence occurred during these demonstrations.

Reverend Edward Gardner, Vice President of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, the organization sponsoring the demonstrations, claims that at least ten Negroes have been shot and killed by local law enforcement officers during the past year. He says racial demonstrations against "police brutality" would continue. Mr. Gardner warns that violence could break out at any time, for both whites and Negroes in the city are capable of violence. An eruption could occur this fall, he feels, when Negro students integrate previously all-white schools on a large scale.

Dr. John Nixon, President of the Birmingham Chapter of the NAACP, believes that Birmingham has come a long way in the field of racial relations in the last year but has a long way to go. He contends that the Negro in Birmingham can gain his equal rights only by voting power or by demonstrations.

Mr. William Hamilton, Executive Secretary to Mayor Albert Boutwell, expresses the view that the potential for violence in Birmingham is very low, mainly because thousands of Negroes now have jobs they did not have during the huge racial demonstrations in the city in 1963.

#### Bogalusa, Louisiana

Population 21,423 (1960); 33 per cent Negro (1960).

Racial conditions in Bogalusa at the moment are termed very good. However, police officials are concerned that Federal mandates concerning hiring policies more favorable to Negroes at the local paper mill may bring about a strike, thereby causing a resumption of picketing and strife in Bogalusa. Additionally, it is feared that should some modifications of the Federal demands be made, the Negro population might be upset enough to begin demonstrating again.

There is also some speculation that segregationists may precipitate unrest as a result of the order for full school integration in the fall of this year.

Dallas, Texas

Population 679,684 (1960); 19 per cent Negro (1966).

An official of the Department of Housing and Urban Development sees no prospect of racial violence in the Dallas area, although Richard Dockery, Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, feels the possibility for violence does exist. He says that if violence occurs, it will probably be the result of some unpredictable incident.

Clarence Laws, former Southwestern Regional Director of the NAACP, claims that there is an atmosphere of unrest in the Negro community in Dallas because of unemployment and underemployment of qualified Negroes.

Danger of a racial-violence eruption over school integration seems to be less a problem than in the past. Dr. Emmett J. Conrad, in a Dallas School Board run-off election held on May 1, 1967, was the first Negro ever to be elected to the Board. This was considered to be a victory for the "Goals For Dallas" program, which included many recommendations for better education.

Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Population 125,000 (1967); 20 per cent Negro (1967).

Milton J. Kelly, Managing Editor of the "Fort Lauderdale News," states that general racial conditions in the Fort Lauderdale area have been good during the past year. Captain Floyd Hall, of the Fort Lauderdale Police Department, and other responsible observers in the city do not anticipate an outbreak of violence in the city in the near future. Each believes, however, that the northwest section of Fort Lauderdale, a slum area, is a potential source of Negro unrest because of poor housing and poor living conditions in general.

Houston, Texas

Population 1,187,000 (1967); 23 per cent Negro (1960).

Prior to May 16, 1967, informed sources had reported that there had been no incidents of racial violence in the recent past in Houston and that no such trouble was anticipated

in the near future. However, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee had been conducting demonstrations to protest the refusal of the Texas Southern University to reinstate SNCC, which had been banned from the campus of this predominantly Negro institution.

On the night of May 16, a Houston police officer was shot and killed by an unknown sniper when he responded to a call for help from four other policemen who were being subjected to sniper fire on the campus. Heavy police reinforcements immediately converged on the campus and conducted a room-by-room search of the buildings for the sniper. Several weapons were found and about 500 students were arrested.

Cassius Clay--or Muhammad Ali, as he prefers to be called--now claims Houston as his residence. Since 1963, the now deposed world's heavyweight boxing champion has been resisting attempts to induct him into the Armed Forces, on the basis of his religious affiliation with the Nation of Islam, a Negro hate group which is opposed to the war in Vietnam and all so-called "white man's wars." On April 28, 1967, Clay refused to be inducted into the service in Houston. Clay could become a rallying point for opposition to the draft and to the Vietnam war by racial groups. It was reported that in the Harlem area of New York City, for instance, Clay's refusal to be drafted had considerable emotional impact among young Negroes.

#### Jackson, Mississippi

Population 165,000 (1967); 36 per cent Negro (1967).

During the early hours of May 11, 1967, a wild demonstration was set off on the campus of Jackson State University, a predominantly Negro institution, when two Negro policemen sought to arrest a Negro man for speeding. Negro students rushed from dormitories to attack the policemen, shouting insults and curses and throwing bottles, bricks, and rocks. An estimate placed the number of rampaging students at 1,500. Disturbances continued for two nights. Three Negro youths were shot during the second night of rioting, one of whom subsequently died of his wounds. Following the first night of rioting, Governor Paul Johnson called up 385 National Guardsmen to bring about law and order.

Only a few days earlier, Assistant Chief of Police M. B. Pierce said there was little potential for mass rioting in Jackson. He pointed out that the racial situation in Jackson had been extremely quiet during 1966 and early 1967; that there had been no mass meetings, marches, or demonstrations having pronounced racial overtones. Similarly,

Allen L. Johnson, an NAACP official, stated he was not aware of any racial situation in Jackson which could lead to a racial riot.

The Jackson State University demonstration graphically illustrates how quickly and unexpectedly an otherwise insignificant incident can ignite a demonstration which can, in turn, lead to a more serious situation.

It is worth noting that Stokely Carmichael addressed groups at Jackson State University and Tougaloo College, another predominantly Negro school, on April 11, 1967.

Louisville, Kentucky

Population 389,044 (1964); 20 per cent Negro (1964).

Until March, 1967, racial conditions were considered good. It was felt that Negro demands for complete integration gradually were being met through the work of a Human Relations Commission established in 1962, and through public ordinances passed in 1963 and 1965 outlawing discriminatory practices.

Another ordinance, passed in August, 1965, and called the "Declaration of Principles," provided for complaints regarding discrimination in housing to be settled through negotiation and persuasion, but carried no criminal penalties. This ordinance is the basis of racial difficulties that are presently threatening the city of Louisville with widespread racial violence.

In 1966, civil rights leaders complained that the ordinance was ineffective in preventing discrimination in housing. Initial conferences and discussions failed. In March, 1967, civil rights demonstrations began.

In April, the rejection by the Louisville Board of Aldermen of another proposed ordinance resulted in an intensification of demonstrations involving from 65 to 200 persons who marched nightly into an all-white area at the south end of the city. The number of spectators and hecklers reached between 2,000 and 2,500 and, on three occasions, it was necessary for the police to use tear gas to disperse the violent crowd. Close to 600 arrests, primarily of demonstrators, have been made by the Louisville Police Department. On April 21, 107 adults and 26 juveniles were arrested for attempting to march in the south end of Louisville contrary to a temporary restraining order issued on April 14 forbidding nighttime marches.

With the sanction of Martin Luther King; his brother, Reverend A. D. Williams King, Chairman of the Kentucky Christian Leadership Conference; and other leaders of the open housing movement, demonstrators threatened to disrupt the 93rd Kentucky Derby on May 6. Negro comedian Dick Gregory, who joined the fracas, was accused of inciting five young Negroes to bolt onto the race track at Churchill Downs during the first race on May 2. To avert a large-scale riot, further inflamed by the offer of the assistance of 1,000 Klansmen, city officials cancelled many of the preliminary festivities and ordered the National Guardsmen to duty. The Derby was run without further incident.

Leaders on the scene feel that tension is so great that a riot could erupt at any moment. They consider that only the presence of a considerable number of police has averted widespread, riotous conditions to date.

Longtime civil rights leaders in Louisville, although they feel that city leaders are callous to the demands of Negroes, disagree with the flagrant tactics used by the recently arrived leaders of the open housing demonstrations and are fearful that the irresponsible Negro element of the city might join the demonstrators. Speaking for the Louisville Committee of Negro Churchmen, Bishop C. Ewbank Tucker has stated: "We echo the demands made by our fellow ministers and churchmen in the Chicago area (when Martin Luther King was active in demonstrations in Chicago) that the technicians get the hell out of Louisville."

#### Memphis, Tennessee

Population 600,000 (1967); 45 per cent Negro (1967).

Memphis has had no major racial violence. Police Commissioner Claude Armour has consistently enforced the laws and has not tolerated violence from either white or Negro extremists.

Police officials and other observers generally agree that racial conditions in Memphis are good. However, Captain J. G. Ray, of the Memphis Police Department, is of the opinion that there is more potential for violence now than he has seen in past years. He says some Negroes seem to think that the harmonious race relations and the progress in integration have been exaggerated.

Captain Ray feels that should violence come, it will occur in the LeMoyné Gardens area, a public-housing project

in the south central part of the city. This housing project and the area surrounding it constitute an economically depressed area, where spontaneous violence could occur. For example, Captain Ray notes that recently a Negro juvenile was shot by police in a burglary or break-in in this area. Immediately, Negro youths started shouting, "Black Power." Captain Ray feels any arrest by law enforcement officers could trigger spontaneous violence. However, he says Negro leaders probably can be counted on to use their influence to stop violence.

One informed source says there is little potential for violence of a racial nature in Memphis unless there is a strong movement by nationally prominent agitators from outside the city. This source asserts that while some Negro leaders may speak as though they are not opposed to outside agitation, they would in reality act to prevent it.

#### Miami, Florida

Population 291,688 (1960); 22 per cent Negro (1960).

Municipal and Negro leaders have stated that no potential "trouble spots" exist in the Miami area and they do not anticipate any sort of racial violence in the foreseeable future. The Miami Police Department has no knowledge of situations which might trigger mob violence or riots.

#### Nashville, Tennessee

Population 176,874 (1960); 40 per cent Negro (1960).

The nationally publicized riot of April 8 - 11, 1967, in Nashville and issues and conditions growing from this riot have caused a deterioration of racial relations in the city. However, avenues for the exchange of ideas between Negroes and whites continue to exist, and it is believed that racial progress can be resumed.

Observers have commented that the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee was deeply involved in events immediately preceding the rioting and was largely responsible for what occurred during the course of the rioting. These observers are of the opinion that SNCC is not truly representative of the Negro academic community, particularly from a numerical standpoint.



It is believed there is little potential for renewed rioting in the Negro community during the coming months, since the potential for unrest and violence will further lessen with the end of the regular school year, when the student population on the campuses of Fisk University and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State University will be reduced. Additionally, most SNCC leaders and activists will not be allowed to return to either university.

Actually, the April rioting was geographically restricted to a small portion of the city in and about the campuses of Fisk and Tennessee Agricultural and Industrial State Universities. Although extremely active, the rioters were relatively few in number and consisted mostly of Negro students and other Negro males in their late teens and early twenties.

While there is a considerable amount of substandard Negro housing in the city, there is no ghetto; the Negro community is separated into segments in several areas of Nashville. This distribution causes problems for effective Negro leadership. On the other hand, a group such as SNCC can reach but a fraction of the total Negro community at any one time. As a matter of fact, it has been observed that in some areas of Nashville many Negroes have never heard of Stokely Carmichael.

#### Natchez, Mississippi

Population 28,000 (1967); 48 per cent Negroes (1967).

In April, 1967, James Lloyd Jones, a white man, was tried for the murder of Ben White, a Negro. A mistrial resulted and the retrial will be held in November, 1967. Tension rose in the Negro community over this matter, but did not reach a critical point. Tensions have since subsided. Chief of Police J. T. Robinson, of the Natchez Police Department, considers the general racial situation to be quiet. He knows of no significant unrest among Negroes and feels there will be none unless some unforeseen incident occurs.

R. Brent Forman, President of the Natchez-Adams County School Board, says the Board has received instructions to prepare a new plan for school integration to be put into effect in the Fall of 1967, but he believes there will be trouble regardless of the action taken.



Charles Evers, NAACP Director for the State of Mississippi, asserts that Negroes are planning no acts of violence because they feel they would be degrading themselves by committing such acts.

New Orleans, Louisiana

Population 652,000 (1965); 37 per cent Negro (1960).

New Orleans police officials state there is no indication of potential racial violence in the city. Similarly, persons knowledgeable in civil rights organizations in the New Orleans area foresee nothing indicating the possibility of major racial disturbances.

Richmond, Virginia

Population 219,958 (1960); 52 per cent Negro (1967).

A spokesman for the Richmond Police Department states that racial conditions are generally very good, since the employment picture has greatly improved in the past year or two and integration in job opportunities is universal throughout the city. Communication between public officials and leaders of various Negro groups is amicable, and several Negroes have been elected to the City Council. Further, school integration has gone smoothly with a minimum of incidents during the past year. It is pointed out, however, that people are frequently influenced by controversial public figures and consequent reaction under these circumstances is unpredictable.

Edward L. Slade, Jr., President of the Richmond Branch of the NAACP, expresses similar views. He states that racial relations in Richmond continue to progress in an orderly manner and Governor Mills E. Godwin's stand on cross burnings has given the Negro community a feeling of more security. According to Slade, the NAACP is a controlling and pacifying influence on the Negro people of Richmond and it hopes to remain so.

Another civic leader observes that Stokely Carmichael's recent appearance in Richmond had not sparked any lawlessness or violence, whereas his appearances in other communities have provoked such activity.

San Antonio, Texas

Population 710,000 (1967); 7 per cent Negro (1967).

Detective Sergeant Albert Saenz, of the San Antonio Police Department, states that neither he nor his sources know of any potentially violent situation in the area and, further, there have been no overt manifestations of racial unrest in the past.

The President of the San Antonio NAACP, as well as other Negro leaders in the area, has expressed satisfaction over the current relationship between the whites and the Negroes.

FUSION OF CIVIL RIGHTS AND ANTIWAR MOVEMENTSAggravating Tension

The innumerable racial riots and disturbances which have plagued the United States since 1964 have had their genesis primarily in the long-smoldering discontent and resentment of Negroes over unequal job, school, and housing opportunities and their deep-seated antipathy toward the police. However, constant agitation and propaganda on the part of communists and other subversive and extremist elements have done much to aggravate tension in the ghettos of the Nation's big cities.

In the nearly 48 years of its existence, the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), has subjected Negroes to unending agitation and propaganda. It has portrayed itself to this minority group as the champion of racial equality, civil rights, civil liberties, and social protest. To the credit of the Negroes and to the great disappointment of the communists, the Communist Party has not been able to recruit and retain significant numbers of Negroes as members. Most Negroes realize that the communists are interested in them primarily to exploit racial issues and to create the chaos upon which communism nourishes. Nevertheless, the cumulative effect of this ceaseless agitation and propaganda and the familiar communist charge of "police brutality" cannot be ignored or minimized.

Creating Opposition to Vietnam War

During a period which has now extended beyond three years, the CPUSA and other subversive organizations have been engaged in campaigns to influence the United States Government to withdraw its troops from Vietnam or to participate in negotiations to end the war. They hope, of course, that either action would result ultimately in advancing the cause of international communism through a victory in Vietnam.

The activities of the CPUSA in recent months have, almost without exception, been directed in one way or another toward the creation of opposition to the war

in Vietnam. This opposition, the communists reason, serves to lend encouragement to the North Vietnamese and the Viet Cong to continue the fighting despite military adversities and could lead to domestic discontent in the United States similar to that which contributed to the French military disengagement from events in Indochina. In view of the historic designs of the CPUSA on the Negro people and the racial ferment that has been evidenced by the disturbances of recent summers, it was inevitable that the communists and other subversives and extremists would attempt to link civil rights protests with antiwar protests so as to increase the magnitude and impetus of each.

As early as April, 1965, General Secretary Gus Hall told the CPUSA Secretariat that the "peace struggle" is a major and top priority project of the CPUSA. At the same time, Hall claimed that the protest movements in this country were converging, with peace leaders becoming civil rights leaders and vice versa. By and large, Hall continued, the same mass of people reacted against the ultraright in the 1964 presidential election, against conditions in Alabama, and against events in Vietnam. The struggle for social progress and the struggle against policies of imperialist aggressions were, in Hall's words, now joined.

#### Union of Civil Rights and Peace Movements

In antiwar propaganda attuned to Hall's assertion, the CPUSA claims that the war in Vietnam has racial overtones not only because it involves nonwhites in Asia but also because it consumes funds that might otherwise be expended for the war on poverty in the depressed areas of large cities inhabited by Negroes. The CPUSA has also praised the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the militant civil rights youth group, for being the first to make the tie between civil rights and peace.

A recent illustration of the fusion of the civil rights and antiwar movements was the so-called "Vietnam Week," which culminated in mass demonstrations in New York City and San Francisco on April 15, 1967.

This protest activity was sponsored by the Student Mobilization Committee and the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. Among the participants in the activities of these committees are members of SNCC; the CPUSA; the W. E. B. DuBois Clubs of America (DCA), a communist-inspired Marxist-oriented youth group; the pro-Red-Chinese Progressive Labor Party (PLP); the Trotskyite Socialist Workers Party (SWP); and the Young Socialist Alliance (YSA), the SWP's youth and training section.

An example or two will demonstrate the involvement of the CPUSA in this "Vietnam Week." Initial plans for this activity were made by the Spring Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Cleveland in late November, 1966. The CPUSA was represented at this conference by Arnold Johnson, Chairman of its National Peace Commission, and National Executive Board members James West and Thomas Dennis. At this time, Johnson was stating that the CPUSA should try to get one million people to demonstrate at the same time against United States involvement in Vietnam. A key figure in the plans for "Vietnam Week" made by the Student Mobilization Committee at a conference held in Chicago in late December, 1966, was CPUSA National Committee member Bettina Aptheker, who is a student at the University of California at Berkeley.

The activities in one CPUSA district, selected at random, show the extent of communist involvement in the New York City demonstration on April 15. In early March, members of the Michigan District were told that they must concentrate on laboring people, Negro communities, and nationalities groups to organize people to participate in the April 15 demonstration in New York City. The Michigan District Committee appointed a four-man committee in mid-March to handle arrangements for the mobilization in New York City. Activities in connection with the mobilization were described as the most important of all endeavors by members of the Michigan District.

Participants in the parade in New York City on April 15 included Gus Hall and at least 200 CPUSA members. Over one half of the total SWP membership in the United States also marched in the parade. Others participating in the parade and rally in New York City were several members of the DCA, PLP, and YSA.

The Reverend James Bevel is the National Director of the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam. He was released by Martin Luther King from a key position in King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference to permit him to take this assignment.

Significantly, among the principal speakers at the antiwar rally in New York City on April 15 were Martin Luther King; Stokely Carmichael, a top figure in SNCC; Floyd McKissick, National Director of CORE; and Bevel. Bevel stated that the next objective of the "peace forces" will be to organize a massive march on Washington, D. C., to confront President Johnson.

Another speaker at this rally was Linda Dannenberg, Executive Secretary of the Spring Mobilization Committee, who is known to consult with leaders of the New York District of the CPUSA. Dannenberg announced that thousands are going to be called upon for a "radical action summer" in which they will go into every town in the United States to organize a massive protest against this country's involvement in the war in Vietnam. She requested that every interested student attend an antiwar meeting in Chicago on May 13 and 14, 1967.

As a follow-up to these peace demonstrations, King and other leaders of the Spring Mobilization Committee launched a nationwide "Vietnam Summer" organizing effort. They called for 10,000 volunteers, including 2,000 full-time workers, to spend the summer in 500 communities escalating opposition to the Vietnam war, encouraging Negroes to refuse to be drafted, and attempting to create a political bloc powerful enough to end the war. The antiwar campaign is patterned after the 1964 summer civil rights drive in Mississippi.

Now that the civil rights and the antiwar protest movements have been joined, with the distinct possibility of ominous displays of civil disobedience and near seditious activities on the part of Negroes and whites alike, the outlook for this summer is grim indeed. The injection of antiwar activities into civil rights activities is bound to intensify racial discord and heighten the violence potential throughout the country.



In the long run, this consolidated civil rights-peace movement will be detrimental to the national security and best interests of the Nation, for it will not only tend to encourage the enemy and prolong the Vietnam war but will also have an adverse effect on the cause of civil rights.